/380 cont./

837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the pu-
836 berty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

[838] [881]

99. Male or female homosexualism, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprovable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100),

100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829]

101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

/389 cont./

831 291 Perhaps, however, nudity alternating with periods in which they are clothed, always renewing the degenerating action of the nudity, aggravates this state of things. Thus their own clothes become transformed into excitation, especially some poorly fitted to the body.

192 /390/ One will not be surprised, then, that on this ground thrive, moreover, unnatural habits, such as masturbation (swesé, 838 pa-daresé, dará-ɣãsé, bestiality (dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise (123),

839

123. Dyayõ-mẽra wõrátise means, properly speaking, intercourse-with-dog, perhaps because of being the only form of bestiality that they practice.

sodomy (ná-sirotúse), homosexualism, male (õ'mã-se'saró) (124)

124. It is to be lamented that some of these episodes take place in the piassava groves, in which groups of young men spend months, often in the company of the civilized, engaged in the extraction of the piassava, or other products, in places far from their povoados and where only once a month, if that often, a launch comes to bring merchandise ("aviamento" /preparation, provision/ they say) for their food, etc.

and female (nĩ'myó se'saró), and pederasty. And it seems that similar acts are verified even where the instinctive natural satisfaction is possible.

5) Conclusion.

000 In conclusion, grave degeneration of the customs is verified among these tribes, in contrast with the so-called "primitive" peoples.

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841
The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating [833] woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, [828] if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part [758] the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

826
Menstrual blood (*hive*) is not human blood, but is believed to be 841
blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent 821
hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic [828] dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

836
Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a 835
community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people [838] are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to [775] death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the [867] older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy. [626]

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to pro- 838
duce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner.

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks.

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion.

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *pariékokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvaiyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenádox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvaiyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenádox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.